4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175 657 Civilian Conservation Corps work began in 1933.[22] At first the Papago would not work very willingly on these projects, and the old people opposed the idea of the young men earning money—they predicted correctly that young people would come to disregard parental authority, begin drinking, and get into trouble. However, many of the Papago men, both young and old, became interested in the projects, and before the CCC was liquidated in 1942, about one man in each twenty families was doing CCC work. This was a rather small proportion as compared with some Indian tribes and other sections of the country, but it was a great increase over the initial response. The projects were of practical value to the Reservation as a whole: roads were built to places that had been inaccessible except by horse; *charcos*[23] were put in, and deep wells were drilled, which allowed the people to live the year round in the valley villages. Furthermore, the projects benefited the workers, for they learned new skills and methods which they have since used to some advantage.

175 578 185 Yet neither the public works nor the wage-work economy were accepted wholeheartedly by all the Papago. Some of the villages, particularly those in the western districts, bitterly opposed the improvements, although since then the people have begun to use them. There was disagreement over the use of the water, over individual, community, and government wells, and there were bitter fights with some of the already established Indian cattle owners, who stood by their customary rights. A conflict also arose, as the old men had predicted, from the money that came in as it never had before. Young men could now buy food and need not be tied down to the fields; they could be independent of their fathers, who had previously supplied the knowledge and direction which it took to earn a living. Road construction and the acquisition of cars directly abetted this new independence.

175 657 In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was placed before the Papago. The Indians always had village organization (see chap. v); the agents had councils, and there had been purely Indian committees for particular purposes (see chap. vii). But now the whole Reservation was to be organized on a democratic basis, with equal representation in council. When the plan was placed before them, the people approved, though few understood what it meant. Under tutelage of the government and with suggestions from a group of Indian delegates, a constitution was drafted. The Reservation was divided

22. This work, first termed Emergency Conservation Work and subsequently Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division, was financed from CCC funds and administered by the Indian Service. It was not limited to young unmarried men and veterans as in other parts of the country but served rather as a general work relief program for Indian men.

23. *Charcos* are natural ponds, deepened and diked.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

uhla also live on the Gila Bend Reservation. These two groups have heretofore been considered as one, and even various leading eastern Papago do not agree as to whether or not they should be differentiated. However, those who live in the area concerned informed one of the authors that there are two groups, though intermarriage has carried members of one group into the other.

These two groups together number about nine hundred[10] and are probably also part of the people whom Kino called "Papago." The word *kiy'kima* means "stuck-up" or "show-off" and is applied to these people because they are said to use the word frequently.[11] Their idiom is reported to be like that of the *totokŏwany* but spoken faster. According to Underhill, "Huhuhra means grandmother's children, i.e., orphans, and was bestowed on the people of Kaka, one village of the group, because they had no well and wandered about sharing those of other village units."[12] This author, who does not differentiate the two groups, says that the dialect contains many incomprehensible words, presumably ancient. She further says: "The legend is that these people did not 'come up from the underground' but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie [*totokŏwany*] people."[13]

Eastern Papago look on both groups as being backward, slow, and conservative. In keeping with this conservatism, they have been the center of resistance to government policy in recent years, opposing or ignoring many Agency proposals, and such recent requirements as registration for Selective Service. Many of them go to work in the mines at Ajo, but they remain insistently of and for their own groups.

The other western dialect group, which some western Papago call *hauhauwash*, numbers about four hundred people;[14] they live in the area around Menager's Dam, which was added to the southwestern corner of the Reservation in 1938. Most of this group still live west and south of the Reservation, and some only recently migrated to the Menager's Dam region. These people (probably Kino's "Soba") are known variously today as *hauhauwash*, Sand Papago, Sonoita Papago, *awatokam au'autam* ("Sand Dune People"), and *so'obukam au'autam* ("Soba Tree People").

Another small group—of about three hundred people[15]—is the *kohatk*, who occupy the area north of *hu'hu'uhla* and *totokŏwany*, centering around the village of Kohatk. Their dialect is very similar to Pima, and the two peoples

10. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

11. However, A. W. Jones, who has made a study of the dialect groups, says that *kikima* is a term used of any dialect group to which the speaker does not belong.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 65. 13. *Ibid.*

14. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

15. *Ibid.*

middle 1930's under the influence of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His program, in part, was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained specific provisions for the preservation of Indian land holdings and the assumption by Indians of some measure of control over their own resources; authorization for the establishment of tribal self-government and federally chartered tribal business corporations; and the establishment of a revolving loan fund for economic development purposes. The intention was to solve Indian social and economic problems through the development of Indian initiative, but it was a "boot strap" program unsupported by necessary governmental appropriations for the training of Indian leaders and the development of Indian organizations, not to mention inadequate appropriations for education, health services, resources development, and routine administrative services. In the case of the Papago, among many other tribes, the program also lacked effectiveness because the majority of individual Indians were not yet committed to any major changes in their way of life. 175 657 [185]

Under the provisions of the Act, Papago Indians living on the main reservation and on the reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend, joined together to form a single tribal government with headquarters at Sells. The tribal constitution and by-laws, however, provided for an important degree of local autonomy under a system of district councils with each district having two members on the tribal council. 175 642 [631]

175 San Xavier and Gila Bend were each treated as a district and
631 the main reservation was divided into nine districts which conformed with the grazing districts previously established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The nine districts on the main reservation are: Paboq Aivari, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Gu Vo, Hickiwan, Piciniwo, Schuk Toak, Sells, and Sif Oidak. (See Map 1)

175 The experience of individual Papagos in the armed
177 services and in employment in war industries during World
●185 War II, was the second important event in recent Papago history. These experiences opened the eyes of many of the younger Indians to the difference between the poverty of a subsistence life on the reservation and the relative prosperity obtainable through participation in the job opportunities and the economy of the non-Indian world around them. They realized that to take advantage of these opportunities they, and their children, would have to secure an education, learn how to live in outside communities, and adapt their social habits and family life to the demands of an industrialized society. They also learned that some of the miseries of extreme poverty could be avoided if welfare programs were extended to their villages, and that high death rates, particularly among infants, could be reduced through the acceptance of modern medical treatment.

175 Upon the basis of these changes in Indian interests
659 and demands, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and interested

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Educational and health programs are, of course, basic. Other programs for the development of human and natural resources on the reservation have received almost equal attention from the Papago Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These include the development of better roads and communication services, employment services, welfare and social services, economic development programs, and many others.

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The chapters that follow will treat in detail the nature of resources development on the reservation, and will describe the nature of the Papago population, its economic position, and its manpower resources. The information thus provided, it is hoped, will assist everyone concerned, and most particularly the Papago themselves, in planning for the future.

134 On the main Papago Reservation, erosion is reported as follows:

Slight	193,534
Moderate	1,183,840
Severe	1,160,960
Critical	236,200
	2,774,534

The individual districts, arranged in descending order of magnitude, are reported in Table 2. It is apparent from these figures and from a 1948 map of erosion conditions on the reservation, that large relatively flat areas in Sohuk Toak District (especially on the southwest side of Aguirre Wash), in Gu Achi and Sif O'dak Districts (along Santa Rosa Wash), and in Chukut Kuk District are critically eroded, together with smaller areas in Solis, Baboquivari, and Pisinimo. Severe erosion is present in nearly all parts of the reservation, and the moderate or slight erosion areas tend to be concentrated in the central, southeast, and extreme northwest parts of the reservation.

[185] [312] Both in order to increase grass for forage and to control erosion, extensive areas have been provided with earth dams and with spreader dikes designed to distribute water more evenly and reduce the rapid and damaging runoff [311] from summer storms. Nevertheless, erosion continues to be a serious problem and its effects limit both carrying capacity for stock and possibilities for flood water farming.

tanks, and 76 earth-walled tanks (charcos) were built. Water thus supplied not only permitted the year-round use of the range but permitted cattlemen to place their cattle in areas formerly not usable because of lack of water. Nevertheless, it was reported as late as 1949 that "only 40% of the Papago range is now within reach of permanent stockwater" (The Papago Development Program, 1949, p. 30). This situation, of course, tended to accentuate the overgrazing of areas with a better water supply. 175 312 657 311

From 1953 until the termination of the program in 1958, the Papago Development Program expended $1,041,181 on stockwater development, including not only wells, but windmills, power pumps, dams, storage tanks, and similar construction. During this same time deep wells were drilled to supply water for the Chuichu farm development. 175 312 657

Since 1958, with the completion of the well drilling program, emphasis has been upon range development and soil and moisture conservation. During the past five years, to June 30, 1963, about $500,000 has been expended for these purposes, mostly in the construction of detention dams. 185 312

At the present time there are 23 irrigation wells operating on the main reservation and at San Xavier. In addition there are 160 wells for domestic and stock water use, on the main Papago Reservation, six at San Xavier and two at Gila Bend. 312

of days or weeks they are actually employed during the year. Average annual earnings for this group of 803 individuals would probably be located somewhere between the average income of welfare recipients ($861) and the individuals engaged principally in reservation farming and stock raising ($2509).

Only a sample survey, now made possible by the existence of a Papago population register, could determine more precisely the annual income of Papago adults, or Papago families. The answer, whatever it might be, would add little to our knowledge. We know the nature of Papago employment, we know the approximate numbers of individuals in each of the categories of employment, and we know the magnitude of the problems of unemployment, underemployment, and dependence upon welfare. To know the dimensions of a problem, however, is only the beginning. This must be followed by an examination of the facts which may lead to a solution. A great deal, but by no means all, of the necessary information is contained in this report. The task of analysis, however, must be deferred at this time except for certain more obvious considerations which are treated below.

Conclusion. The outstanding fact, and this runs as a thread through all our statistics, is that the Papago Indians are solving their own problems. Starting from very nearly "zero" in 1917, when the Sells Reservation was established, the Papagos have shown great skill and persistence in finding ways to remain self-supporting in the face of meager resources and a rapidly changing world around them. They have done more than this. A substantial number--more than 300--Papago boys and girls have secured an education and have moved into productive employment as skilled and semi-skilled workers. Another substantial group, about 38% of all adults, have found permanent and near permanent employment on and off the reservation in spite of language, cultural, and educational handicaps.

The trend of events is clearly discernible in our material. Papago families remain on the reservations, taking advantage of all possible income

opportunities until these are exhausted. At this point they turn to outside employment. A full half of the members of the tribe have made this move on a more or less permanent basis and another thirty percent make the move on a seasonal or temporary basis. This is the direction of Papago adjustment and its most encouraging aspect is the fact that it is a case of self-adjustment, uninfluenced in any important respect by forces outside the interests and goals of the Indians themselves. This is not to say that they like it. This study, and every other study of the Papagos, has shown that they accept a removal from their reservation villages only with greatest reluctance; partly because they prefer to live in a familiar environment and near their friends and kinsmen, and partly because they do not have the background in education and experience which would assist them in facing the many problems of life in a strange environment. Neither do they have the background in education and experience which would permit the more intensive development of reservation income opportunities, thus permitting larger numbers of Indians to remain on the reservations and at the same time enjoy a more acceptable standard of living.

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There are many factors involved in the solution of the economic problems which have been presented in this report. We have presented data on the level of formal education and the range of work experience. The generation of adults now seeking employment did not attend school at all, or were in school only a few years when they were children. Their origin is predominantly from reservation villages and their work experience has been almost exclusively in agricultural or common labor employment.

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These are the outstanding handicaps with which they must contend, and they are the handicaps, even though less severe, with which their children will have to contend.

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The situation is one in which necessary conditions for improvement can be clearly defined without, at the moment, being diverted by the host of

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalization of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

131 A few Desert People live on a tiny 10,235 acre
657 reserve at Gila Bend set aside in 1912 by Executive
312 Order--leaving the village outside the reserved
[311] area. Some of this land could once be irrigated by surface flow from the Gila River which is now impounded far upstream, and none is farmed now.

A few Papagos live on the Maricopa Indian Reservation upstream under the Pima Indian Agency on lands partially irrigated by pumps tapping the underground flow.

The greatest number of the Desert People live on the 2,773,896 acre Papago Indian Reservation running north from the Mexican border within a few miles of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Only a few hundred acres at the northern tip of the reserve projecting into the Gila River valley can be irri-
[133] gated by pumped water. There is no running surface stream in the entire area. An irrigation of sorts
[433] using flood waters from late summer rains has been practiced for unknown centuries by the Desert People to raise subsistence crops to supplement the surprising variety of foods gathered from the desert plants or hunted. Water under this reserve is too deep and too scarce for economic irrigation.
[185] "To many Papago a good field, enough cattle to provide occasional meat and money, a few horses for prestige, and plenty of rain would make the ideal combination."[1]

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 59.